as two of

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 717 March 24, 1950

THREEPENCE

# CHURCH'S OPPORTUNITY

### Lost leadership must be regained—DONALD SOPER

N effective peace group in the Church must have a precise, clear-cut objective and must, at the earliest possible moment, give to those invited to join it a good idea of What they will be expected to do."

So said Dr. Soper, the well-known radio preacher and superintendent of the West London Mission at Kingsway Hall, to memers of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Group, Fellowship of Reconciliation, last Thursday.

He was commenting on the lessening of enthusiasm in the peace movement within the Church.

"I believe it is true," he said, "that our peace groups will only be successful if they are more theological than they are at present—I mean knowing whence the movement springs."

He thought a pacifist should be a man tho looked as though he could be a good oldier, just as a successful parson should be a man who looked as though he had mmitted many sins" (laughter).

### Church's leadership lost in war

Dr. Soper said there was today a dearth spiritual leadership and what leadership did exist earned his disgust. The man in street was no longer convinced that Christianity was on the way out or that contribe humanism was taking the place of Christianity.

The Church, he said, had a good opportunity today of re-establishing the good leadership that was lost in the two wars. The only practical question in the world day was that of peace and war—all thers were purely academic.

He thought it was deplorable that so hany ministers, if tackled, said they were bacifists, and then retired behind a smoke reen saying it was not their job to disteed!

# No arguments left

the Central Methodist Church, Dr. Soper there were too many people today livin cloud cuckoo land.

They pretended the situation was not so bad as it really was, but with scientists the selves becoming terrified of their own tate. her thought it was time he, at any he thought the became terrified.

We now lived in an age in which we had proven up to the hilt that the problems we wanted to solve were not solved on Tower Hill, he knew there were no arguments to the contrary left,

The principle of conscription was a the principle of democracy, and of the Iron Curtain who thought we were

Spiritual issues were regarded by many beople as irrelevant, but those were people did not worship God, and did not word "spiritual."

Christianity was 99 per cent. obedience the will of God. But if, animated by the will of God we took up our cross, should create a new climate in which things would not be able to breathe. things would not be able to breathe.

They needed that preparation if they needed that preparation if they meilt be preach peace. They needed mility and sympathetic understanding.

in that connection he recalled his own that connection he recalled his own after Dunkirk," when on Tower of the helped a heckler to make a fool aid, "I felt proud of myself," he will after the meeting, the heckler me how I would have felt if I had well my only son at Dunkirk, as he had a thy only son at Dunkirk, as he had a before."

# Tea will be ready!

in There was only room for one Government Government He was committed to that

He added, amid laughter—"I won't tell think the way I voted at the Election, but the majority might have been a bit

on the peace and war issue were those armaments. As for the arguments about the necessity for armaments the Russians away from Britain. Soper brought further laughter when country he was sure his Mission would that it the Russians were to invade that it the Russians were to invade was sure his Mission would that it the Russians were to have too for them when they to make tea for them when they

# MP's DISCUSS RECRUITING FAILURE

# Socialism & Militarism the wrong mixture

"We are in a vicious circle, of fear begetting armaments and armaments begetting fear. The world is waiting for bold leadership, which no other country can give."—E. W. Moeran, MP.

If those who stood on public platforms

30 or 40 years ago had made speeches on

the lines uttered by Labour MP's that day, there would not have been a Labour

Party today and no Labour Government.

A member had quoted Mr. Baldwin as

Referring to the report that women were

to be enrolled into the fighting forces and

that one of them was to be called a Briga-dier-General, he asked whether there was

anything to prevent one of the new women soldiers becoming a field-marshal.

Mr. Michael-Stewart, Under Secretary

for War: At present there is a limitation

governed by the terms of the anounce-

Emrys Hughes compared the rising cost

This year he estimated that a man

not have a home to defend because of

of arms with the needs of Scottish housing. Last year we spent £15 per head of the population on defence.

having said our frontier was on the Rhine. According to speeches heard that day our frontier had been pushed from the Rhine to the Danube and he supposed would soon reach the Volga.

Re deadly females

future?

defence.

were on the road to failure.

PACIFIST protests from the Labour back-benches, as well as undiluted militarism from both sides, were fully expressed in last Monday's debate on the Army Estimates. The failure of the recruiting campaign was again admitted.

Among suggested remedies were the re-cruiting of a Foreign Legion from European sources, the raising of soldiers' pay to civil levels, and more wearing of scarlet tunics on the grounds that the girls simply love them and the guardsmen love the girls.

Hon. Members did not, however, question the efficacy of the last-named proposal should the girls themselves adopt similar glamorous vestments and the female of the species become as uniform as the male, which is not improbable now that women are to be enrolled in the fighting forces and can aspire to the title of Brigadier-General.

#### What price "re-education" now?

During the debate Mr. Paget suggested that as they couldn't get the recruits in England for a regular army, they might use those "men in Europe of first-class fighting material who would be only too anxious to volunteer if given a chance."

This led Emrys Hughes to ask—"Ex- Arms or houses?

Mr. Paget replied that he did not mind in the least. Under a totalitarian governhe said, the ordinary man street had perforce to follow the politics of that government, and it was nonsense to about ex-Nazis as Communists.

This comment throws interesting light on the value of "the re-education of Germany," since now it appears that the Germans-in-the-street were never Nazis after all.

It drew the further question from Emrys Hughes: "Will my hon, and learned Friend tell me what the last war was about?"
"On another occasion, perhaps," replied Mr. Paget.

### Why say "defence"?

Rhys Davies said it was a strange thing about the vocabulary of the military class in every country that they always talked of "defence."

Why, he asked, did they misuse the English language in that way when in fact what they were doing was preparing for another war?

If he had his way he would say to the military class, "Here is so much money for you to spend; do your best with that sum; it is all you will get." Until govern-ments adopted that method they would never stop the appetite of the military

It was a new form of Socialism, he said, for Labour Members to support conscrip-

### WAR & CONSCRIPTION CAUSE VIOLENT CRIME

-say MP's

NOTICE has been given of an amendment to Mr. John Hay's proposed Motion for the re-introduction of corporal punishment for crimes of violence.

The amendment, opposing the reintroduction, says:—

"Such crimes are in part the direct result of evil influences and wars when it is regarded as heroic and patriotic to kill as many human beings as possible when des-

regarded as heroic and patriotic to kill as many human beings as possible when described as enemies; in part also the result of training millions of the present generation of young men for similar purposes; it (the amendment), therefore, rejects the assumption that corporal punishment, based on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, which has been tried throughout the centuries and ignominously failed, would safeguard modern society from any type of criminal."

The signatories to the amendment are: Rhys Davies, Fenner Brockway, J. Paton, Emrys Hughes, James Hudson, J. Rankin, David Thomas, K. G. McGee, E. Fernyhough, Richard Winterbottom, Thomas Brooks, R. W. Sorensen, R. Morley, George Jeger, Mr. Stephen Davies, Mrs. Braddock, Peter Freeman, John Lewis, Sydney Silverman, W. E. Padley, David Williams, J. Carmichael, V. Yates, J. D. Murray, Elwyn Jones, Charles Hale, Fred Longden, Goronwy Roberts.

# Gaol and fine for two peace work volunteers

TWO members of the Friends Ambulance Unit International Service came before Portsmouth Magistrates last week charged with failing, as conscripts, to report for medical examination.

They were John Fairfax (19), sentenced to three months imprisonment and Robert Mills (21), fined £10.

Mills stated he had been a Cambridge student and became a pacifist three years ago, after he had registered for National ervice, reports the Portsmouth Evening News.

He had tried to join the RAMC but was told he had little chance. He did not want to carry arms.

Mr. L. G. Groves, for the Ministry of Labour, said in the case of Fairfax that he was ordered to attend a medical board on Feb. 2. He failed to do so sending his papers back with a letter stating he found it "impossible" to be examined.

In December last year, Fairfax was fined £10 for a similar offence said Mr. Groves. Fairfax told the Court he had nothing

to say.
Mills, said Mr. Groves, registered in
1946 and was deferred. In May 1949, he registered as a conscientious objector. In July, 1949, a local tribunal ordered his name to be removed from the CO register. ment, but who am I to set limits to the

Ordered to report for a medical on January 11, he returned his papers, saying Concluding, Rhys Davies said he was January 11, he re proud to stand there that night having been

#### elected 9 times by the people of Westhough-Italian student resists call-up-page five. ton because he advocated the principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount.

#### TOOK PEACE POSTER INTO ATOM PLANT

GUARDS at the Oakridge (USA) atom plant were amazed when James Otsuka, a member of the tax-refusing group of American pacifists paraded through the elaborately protected plant with a poster "Don't work on the atom bomb—Strike!" When guards pounced on Otsuka and asked how he got in, he replied: "By bus." A check-up revealed that he had come in during the rush-hour, reports the News with a wife and three children who might

over-crowding, might have to find out of his weekly wage £1 8s. for so-called during the rush-hour, reports the News As long as the Labour Government were Chronicle.

content to carry on where the Leader of the James Otsuka's release from Ashland Penitentiary where he served a 90 day's sentence for refusing to pay income-tax for war-preparations was reported in Peace Opposition left off, and talk in the old obsolete military terminology while trying to get Socialism at the same time, they News on Feb. 24.

### **Peace Demonstration** \*

CENTRAL HALL WESTMINSTER

MONDAY, MARCH 27

Chair: VERA BRITTAIN

Speakers:

RHYS DAVIES, M.P. EMRYS HUGHES, M.P. LEAH MANNING STUART MORRIS SYBIL MORRISON MICHAEL TIPPETT

Admission Free

Organ 7.30 p.m. Some Reserved Seats 2s. 6d.

BUFFET and BOOKSTALL FROM 6.30 p.m.

Organised by:

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Dick Sheppard House

6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

WAR - WE SAY "NO"-

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# Nought deters

MOST political controversy consists in arguing about effects while ignoring causes.

The arguments about the economic situation are perhaps the commonest examples of this. They centre round short-term expedients for prolonging an artificial urban standard of living as long as possible, while ignoring the menacing problem of the world's food supply on which that standard ultimately depends.

It is a common habit. Modern medicine is the same. It has little to say about the cause and cure of disease, but concentrates on producing a constant supply of Wonder Drugs, the purpose of which is to enable you to live more comfortably with your diseases.

And in the background of all these busy social patchings-up and ameliorations, the preparations for international obliteration go steadily on, hindering social progress everywhere, yet unanimously approved as a necessity beyond controversy. And significantly enough, Britain, which has advanced furthest in social welfare, stands about the least chance of survival if war

This is not serious sociology; it is a vast process of political and economic tinkering. And the latest example of it is the controversy about the increase of violent crime.

More is being done today to condition the citizen's mind to the use and the necessity of violence than ever before. Preparations for destruction and atrocity are woven into the news of every day, and each new development of destructive power is broadcast proudly as a step in the progress of science and of security.

All authorities agree that the effect of war-time conditions on the young, with the slackening of discipline and the need to harden the mind against fear and anxiety, is a prime cause of the present decline of moral restraint. Yet the perpetuation of that same mental toughness is still encouraged by warnings of another war and is essential to the military training which is now part of every young man's life.

Do these authorities really believe they car educate youth out of violent habits of thought and behaviour while simultaneously teaching them the necessity of violence en

Do they really expect the younger generation to distinguish so carefully between private and national interests, and divide their personalities into two, preserving one standard of behaviour for private use and the other for the state? Surely split-mind or Jekyllhydrophobia, is not a common complaint.

We do not know what possible system of education could successfully cultivate this duality of outlook, by which the youngest, simplest and toughest members of society can be relied upon duly to admire the bomber and repudiate the cosh.

One point in this controversy about the prevention of violent crime, however, would appear to be settled. That is, whether fear of punishment, physical or otherwise, is a deterrent.

During the war several nations, including this one, took the worst punishment they had ever had. It has proved no deterrent. As soon as it was over they all started to prepare for it all over again in an even worse form.

They are more frightened of war than ever, yet they are not deterred from it. Though they believe that most of their cities will be sponged right off the map, they are making no effort to change their ways so as to avoid it.

If the threat of atomic war doesn't deter the educated and the ruling classes from militarism, why should the threat of flogging deter the least sensitive and imaginative classes from robbery with violence?

It won't, of course. It is an error to suppose that the gangster has more sense or less courage than the politician.

# NOT AT HOME

### A Commentary by DOROTHY C. M. WARNER

TN West Germany one person out are almost inevitably bound to turn them were to undertake certain building projects of every five is a refugee or "exin the whole of Germany there are between 12 and 14 million such displaced Germans.

In West Germany there are also besides the 7½ million expellees a further 1½ millions "infiltrees"—persons who have slipped across the Green Frontier which separates the Russian Zone from the rest of Germany. And they are still coming over at the rate of 1,100-1,500 a day.

None of these persons comes under the authority and care of IRO and there is at present no possibility for them of emigration. For the most part they live in conditions of great misery and squalor and without any opportunities or even much hope of finding work or of returning to any sort of normal life.

### An affront to the conscience

THIS is a situation which inevitably weighs heavily on the consciences of many people in this country and, though possibly to a lesser extent, on those of informed and responsible people in the USA.

We in particular have a fairly good record as far as IRO and the problem of the Displaced Persons are concerned, but this by no means relieves us of the obligations and responsibilities which we have to ac-cept towards the German expellees not only on the grounds of general humanity but also because of our peculiar relation to them as "conquerors" towards the "defeated."

It is thus clearly a good thing that the whole wretched problem should constantly and urgently be brought before the British people and that they should not be allowed to forget that this situation exists nor blind themselves to the human suffering and degeneration now being experienced by so many millions.

#### Children's hopeless future

IT is necessary, too, that we should force ourselves to recognise that to have such a group of people in the heart of Europe is not only an affront to our sense of decency and to our conscience, but is also a grave threat to the peace and prosperity of the continent. Some of these millions are old or ill, some of them will die of nearstarvation and disease and some will com-

But many of them are children and young persons who will survive and who are growing up under conditions which

into hopeless and feckless creatures, because they have never been given any of pellee" from Czechoslovakia or from the security, the teaching, the opportunities those parts of Germany which are to develop their essential selves which are now in Polish or Russian hands, and generally regarded as the prerequisites for normal growth from childhood to maturity.

#### Confessions of guilt no solution

WHEN one is faced with a painful and difficult situation where it is not easy to see what immediate practical steps ought to be taken and where the issues seem to be confused, it is sometimes easier and indeed a real temptation to make instead a sort of general act of confession and admission of guilt and then to shirk trying to grapple with the actual intricate day-to-day aspects of the real situation.

There is, of course, no doubt whatever that the fate of these unhappy persons is a matter for our deepest concern and one in which we must feel that we bear responsibility. Nevertheless I myself cannot accept the statement made by Mrs. Dorothy F. Buxton in her letter in the Manchester Guardian of March 16, that we are wholly responsible for existing conditions among the German refugees in West Germany or even in the British Zone.

Without going into a profitless discussion about which came first, hen or egg, surely no one would really maintain that any ingle nation or government or people can today be made to shoulder this sort of ac-cusation? Nor, to my mind, can all the Nor, to my mind, can all the blame for the actual conditions now reigning (in controdistinction from the compulsion put upon the expellees in the first place) be laid only at the door of the oc-cupying powers although they undoubtedly must take their share.

#### Why one scheme failed

HAVE no opportunity of checking my facts before writing this article, but I am pretty certain that a good deal more could have been and could still be done at least in the British Zone-by the Germans themselves to help their compatriots.

I have the following story on good authority from a German woman who is working among the expellees in the British

Responsible German and British persons were trying to deal with the problem of the young men and boys in the camps and to find some constructive alternative to days spent in wretched and harmful idling bethere was quite literally nothing to do. Many of the young people were most anxious themselves to escape from this kind of life and to get even the simplest training and the most humdrum work.

A plan was developed by which they millions?

which, under a little expert supervision, could have been carried out by untrained workers. It would have provided the youths with a useful and satisfying occupation and would have done something towards alleviating the local conditions of overcrowding in their camp. The plan had to be abandoned because of opposition from the German building trade German building trade.

#### International action needed

IDERHAPS this is only a single and not 8 representative incident, but it seems probable that anyway this is a problem which it is quite beyond the powers of the Germans alone to solve and that it is a matter which is essentially the concern of an international authority and requires in ternational action. But it seems to be one of those situations where there is a gap which is not easily bridged between the potential and the actual range and power of international feeling or intention and of international machinery.

Ought we perhaps to press for the inclusion of the German expellees under the terms of reference of IRO (due to close down before long) so that they will quality at least in time, for the help it can bring However proper it may have been in first place to give absolute priority to the millions of Displaced Persons, so many of whom were homeless as a result of National-Socialist regime, to continue dis-crimination on purely "ethnic" grounds crimination on purely "ethnic" ground seems inconsistent with some of our beliefs and with our pledges under the United Nations and has an unpleasant flavour of precisely that racial discrimination which we criticise among Germans and elsewhere.

### A problem for labour organisation

AND would it be worth considering an approach to ILO? In their new plans for an international solution of labour amplement employment problems, with a special regard to resources of manpower, might there not be a place both for the young, untrained worker as well as for the older and skilled men among the German expellees?

The problem bristles with all the difficulties already known in connection with plans for DPs and for international labour projects and possible emigration to developed areas and has its own particular difficulties as well.

But it is clear that the longer it is left the worse the problem will become and that peoples, governments and the United Nations must all give it more than passive consideration consideration.

What lies in store for those ill-fated

### PACIFISM IN 1950

THERE are two kinds of activity L that seem to me specially pertinent now. They grow out of what I believe is a fact, that Western Civilisation is rapidly declining, much more rapidly than did that of the old Roman Empire. Modern technology causes swift changes in social processes. War is one of the symptoms as well as one of the causes of this decline.

Civilisations are based on groups of assumptions or presuppositions, mostly so deep as to be unconscious. These are lived out until all the implications with their mutual inconsistencies if any are fully manifested and exemplified and, then the civilisation crumbles.

The assumptions are immensely powerful, and control the course of events, just as the rules of a chess game control the events of the chess board. And as the assumptions are with most people almost entirely un-conscious, their compelling direction cannot

I believe this unawareness of our fundamental assumptions, together with their power, is one of the chief reasons for the prevailing sense of helplessness over the course of events.

Because of these two factors, I think that pacifists cannot prevent the present series of wars. The depth and momentum of widely held assumptions is too great.

I do not consider this conclusion too pessimistic. If I thought that Governments could go on as they have been doing for hundreds of years—lying, cheating, stealing, murdering, breaking all the ten commandments and more, and they and their subjects not have to pay a highest than I would be a pessimist, for that would be denying that this world is governed by moral principles, and saying that there is no God. I do believe that we must pay a price for these follies and evils, because I do believe in the validity and prove for I do believe in the validity and power of moral and spiritual laws.

What significant things, then, can pacifists do? I do not believe in fighting rearguard actions to try to save a civilisation so deeply evil. Let us rather try to lay foundations for a wiser and happier

First of all I believe that some of us should find out what are the deepest assumptions of Western Civilisation, drag them up to the light of day, examine them

By RICHARD B. GREGG Author of "The Power of Non-Violence"

and re-think them. For help on this see "An Essay in Metaphysics" by R. G. Collingwood, Oxford University Press, an excellent lucid book. Don't be intimidated by the title. Metaphysics is the study of man's fundamental assumptions.

In particular, I believe, we must examine our assumptions, as well as conscious beliefs, as to the nature of the self, perhaps making a study of comparative physics of Buddhism, Hind Christianity, Sufism and Taoism. Hinduism.

New Testament Greek word for deny meant in the life of the body. utterly repudiate. It is the same word that is used when Peter denied Christ at the time of the trial. Can I repudiate myself and not repudiate my self? May not Christ's original teaching about the nature of the self have been far closer to that of Buddhism and Hinduism than the Churches will admit. Several modern psychologists have reached an essentially Buddhist position on the point.

I think that our assumptions and beliefs (conscious) have an important bearing on pacifism and our actions, wholly outside of one's attitude towards churches and churchianity. I agree with Collingwood that our absolute assumption is an idea of comprehensive unity that can be called God, Brahma, Allah, Atman, Tao or what not. This is the deepest reality. ×

A second important activity for pacifists is to find ways of life that are consistent with non-violence and with one's revised

fundamental assumptions as to the nature of essential reality.

Buddha was right on insisting on a right mode of living. If we are not consistent as between our assumptions, our conscious beliefs, and our daily activities and ways of making our livings, then we go to pieces.

If we are to build a sound culture, we

must be consistent in all these respects. Most of us are living in an unsound ecology. I believe that city life is parasitic, and that many modern farm methods and ways have also been corrupted by commercialism and money values. A part of pacifist effort should be a back to the vil-lages movement, and back to small organisations of all sorts.

In so far as we must have large scale organisations and unities, let them be not leigh St., W.C.1

political but cultural. I agree with Gandhi in the professor in the profound value of manual work. However, that is for each pacifist to think out for himself.

Probably more pacifists would be interested in the second of these activities than in the first. Both need to be done. A few people may be able relatively soon to hear a new mode of living those will to begin a new mode of living. Most will have to grow slowly into it and the change in thinking required for it in thinking required for it.

Little groups can be formed for the study of these two problems, and they might their together every few months to compare their for thinking. That we are few is no cause for We must distinguish between Christ's words and church doctrine. For example, Christ said "He who would come after me, let him deny himself and follow me." The New Testament Greek word for denumber the minute big crowd would come after me, let him deny himself and follow me." The New Testament Greek word for denumber the minute big crowd would remember big crow

### CAN WE CATCH UP?

THE Peace Pledge Union reports and statement of accounts, which will be issued at the end of the month and will be willingly sent on process of the month and will be willingly sent on process of the month and will be willingly sent on the month and will be will be at the month and will be will be at the month and will be will be at the month and will be at the month an willingly sent on request to any reader of Peace News, show how much we were indebted in 1949 to the regular response of the fortnightly appeals in Peace News for Headquarters Fund.

The response to the suggestion that three other readers should each contribute £25 to add to the £25 which our National Chairman gaves and the £25 which our National But Chairman gave was a very great help. But the total would not have been reached extent by the regular contributions of smaller sums each month, and here "regular" is very important.

It is not easy to catch up again if the fortnightly totals get too far behind our tortnightly totals get too far behind our aim. If we are to raise the amount hoped in 1950 it means raising an average about £25 every fortnight. We are getting behind. Six appeals have produced £80, and behind. Six appeals have produced £80, and we have only had £2 during the last our night. I appeal to all readers to help are catch up, so that by the AGM we may have £250 in Headquarters Fund. STUART MORRIS

Our aim for 1950: £600. Amount received up to March 17: 11d. Please help us to raise at least £250 by

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# INTERNATIONAL **SEMINARS BREAKING DOWN** BARRIERS

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In the summer of 1949 young men and women between the ages of 20 and 35 met Rether for periods of three to four weeks for the discussion of world problems. They ere drawn from many countries, and met in small groups of about 30 in quiet sur-loundings at Geneva, Le Chambon (France), Heppenheim (Germany), Vienna, erumaki (Finland), and at ten places in the USA.

The underlying purpose of the Seminar the building of a peaceful world through the creation of friendship and understanding creation of friendship and understanding creation of participality race. ng, overcoming barriers of nationality, race and culture. Their members share ideas, experience and information.

They discuss international problems which are of common interest to all the lationalities represented, such for instance as abolition of tariff barriers, uropean economic union, imperialism, and colonisation, promotion of basic human reedom and rights, the United Nations, world parliamentary government, world chizenship, nationalism and military security.

Each group contains leaders from the philosophy, law, sociology. But the impetus of the seminar comes from the group itself, not from the leaders. Most of the leaders not give lectures, but merge themselves the group, introducing the topics and suiding the discussions.

Candidates seeking admission to one of he Seminars should be between the age the languages used at the Seminar—usually English, French, and German, and should ave had at least two years of University dudy or equivalent practical experience.

Those who are able to do so are asked pay for their own transportation, food and lodging—from six to ten Swiss francs a day but the Friends are willing to pay expenses of those who are unable to do Men and women of all nationalities are hirted to apply, and should write to: The Quaker Service, 94 Rue de Lausanne, Quaker Service, Geneva, Switzerland.

O.B.

#### Christian Evangelism and the Pacifist Issue

Dr. Belden's article which appeared under this title in Peace News on March 3 is now little in leaflet form from Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, or from Dr. Belden. Price 2s. 100; 8s. 6d.

# DEFENCE

# How?

# THIS WAY!

tatesmanship the helations between hidia and Britain have been transformed from hitteran act of great formed been trans-hess and enmity into toodwill and friend-

Had we pursued a policy of "what we lence we hold "viobread would have bread and a state of war would almost veloped. We have been defended defended against this. There Thousands of lives been saved. No war casualties have

What has been done India can be done elewhere.

ship and mutual help defence against the destruction and

### OR THIS?

We are spending over two million pounds a day on armed forces.

fear in other countries and is met by an increase in their arms which in turn increases our feeling of insecurity. Thus a competitive race in armaments is developing, and our foreign policy becomes more and more based on misand trust and fear.

A race in armaments has always ended in war. This one will if it is not checked. And the destruction and loss of life, with the new atomic and other weapons, will be immeasurable.

There is no defence in arms.

### YOU CAN'T HAVE **BOTH** WAYS

Which kind of Policy You Support?

This statement has been printed in Peace form by the Northern Friends Board, Clifford Street, York, Price 2s. 100.

# Germans Lukewarm to New Militarism

By ROBERT ROOT

Executive Editor, World Interpreter

BRITISH visitor stood at a graveside in Berlin. There, he was told, lay the only man who had refused to go to war for Hitler. And he had been shot.

young German stepped up. He put two photographs on the grave and said, "This was not the only unknown soldier for peace." And he surprised the group by telling how two of his friends, also war resisters, had been shot too. Moreover, when Hitler's concentration camps were opened, many of the prisoners proved to be German "objectors" against the Nazi war effort.

Frankfurt for examp front-page editorial:

"The simple truth sible re-militarisation deep anxiety in the German mothers and nance in millions of G

present-day Germany, an antimilitarist can hope for better treatment. The new Bonn Constitution states "nobody shall be forced against his conscience to serve with arms."

Civil liberties critics point out that, since it appears in the article on religious freedom, this clause seems to recognise only

religious objections. Besides, the provision can be nullifled by Parliament. The Laender or "states" of South Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemburg-Baden and Berlin have gone further. In Bavaria, for example, "no citizen can be forced to undertake military service or take part in war industries."

SCEPTICISM about militarism, as distinguished from pacifism, is widespread in post-war Germany. This lukewarmness continues in spite of the fact that the Allies have begun to talk about rebuilding German armies.

Though the German army question has been very much alive in military circles in the U.S., there have been official denials, and German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was warned to throttle down such discussion. Perhaps indiscreetly, Adenauer ignored this, however, and put his finger on a programme being quietly considered when he outlined how Germans should be recruited. He said they should be, not mer-



Drawn for "World Interpreter Birkmannsweiler, Germany. "World Interpreter" by Ditus,

"But that's what Mr. Hitler always gave me!"

cenaries for a foreign army, but "equals" in a German contingent of the Western

Earlier, Adenauer had indicated outright opposition to a new army, and declared it would only revive militaristic memories "which must disappear forever." In doing so, Adenauer was a good politician, for German opinion is overwhelmingly opposed.

to a new army.

The West German press has supported this view. The Allgemeine Zeitung of

### PPU MEETINGS IN IRELAND The moral answer to war

WHAT "broke Britain as a first-class The immense destructive power being built up stimulates built up stimulates fear in other countries. The immense destructive power being built up stimulates built up stimulates fear in other countries. Belfast Friends' Meeting House last week.

In terms of power politics Britain could never again lead the world, for how insignificant she was compared to the USA or the USSR, he commented; but she could have a place in the world better than she had ever held before.

"Pacifism stands for total disarmament not just a reduction in armaments," he declared. "It stands for this by agreement, of course, if you can do it. But hasn't someone always got to make the first move especially in this vicious circle of fear and suspicion? Somebody is wanted today with sufficient moral courage and enterprise to break in on that circle and take the first step."

If in spite of disarmament, aggression still came the pacifist answer was the resistance of aggression which was non-violent, such as was practised so successfully by Gandhi in India. That was the moral

answer to war. The Belfast meeting was sympathetically reported in the Press.

### PICTORIAL CHARTS

"Let the Figures Speak"\* is a gallant attempt to get the facts and figures of Britain's economic position over the "average man." to

The effect of the rising cost of defence-"guns versus homes"—is not overlooked but the kind of world presented as an alternative to atomic destruction is unlikely to inspire simple-lifers nor will the book appeal to those who prefer the pages of the Economist to those of the Daily Mirror.

Pictorial Charts, 62 The Broadway,

But after the little memorial service, a Frankfurt for example, said in a strong

"The simple truth is, all talk of a possible re-militarisation of Germany arouses deep anxiety in the hearts of millions of German mothers and a passionate repugnance in millions of German young men."

1

THE FRANKFURT Rundschau reported a poll showing that 60.2 per cent. of

Germans said they wanted no more military service under any conditions. German pollsters for the American High Commission also found military enthusiasm lacking. An

overwhelming majority of 3,800 questioned said would they rather have their boys be-" No, he isn't playing with come businessmen than army officers!

it, he's merely fixing it for his little Allied buddy." In Berlin, a "children's parliament" even voted unanimously that military toys should be boycotted.

Hicks, Rheinische Post,

Dusseldorf.

U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy, declaring that healthy tendencies far outweigh reported nationalist trends, asserted last month the "bulk of the German people have set their faces" against militarism. Still, some Europeans reason that a German army if made trustworthy could be Still, some Europeans reason that a German army, if made trustworthy, could be "a stabilising factor" internally and "a protective barrier" against Russia. To countless Germans, however, all that is "old stuff" without appeal today. The West, having won a crusade to abolish military ideas in Germany, is sometimes dismaved at its success.

# MUST THEY SPEND THEIR YOUTH IN GAOL? Dutch mother's appeal for

# COs serving long sentences

A NUMBER of Dutch conscientious objectors have been sentenced to 31 years imprisonment for refusal to undertake military service under Dutch conscription laws.

From an Amsterdam mother comes the following appeal:

"I would like to ask whether your movement would not protest to the Dutch Government so that the young people, who are now wasting away their young lives in prison after having suffered already during five years of occu-pation, could either be liberated or have their sentences reduced.

"I write in the name of parents and women whose sons, husbands, or fiances are wrongly imprisoned."

The writer is the foster mother of Gerrit Heinsius, one of the Dutch COs listed in Peace News on Dec 16, 1949 as being in prison for Christmas. He is likely to spend another three Christmases behind prison bars along with many other COs unless public opinion throughout the world is roused on this issue.

### Television interviews Vera Brittain

GANDHI is the great figure of today in India-and for the future," said Vera Brittain, Peace Pledge Union Chairman and well-known novelist, in a televised interview on Wednesday last week

She spoke of the Gandhi Memorial Con-ference which took her to India recently and her impression that with freedom had come the first opportunity for real friend-ship between Indians and the people of this country.

Miss Brittain's necessarily brief word-Miss Brittain's necessarily brief word-sketches of things seen in India showed the writer's power of observing and selecting the evocative incident—but how Gandhi would have disliked the programme's film-deep interest in everything and its constant change of topic.

DENMARK: An invitation has been sent to the Defence Minister in the Danish Government to attend the Annual General Meeting on April 22 and 23 of the Danish section of the War Resisters International. "But so far (a month after the invitation) he has not deigned to reply "comments the monthly journal "Pacifisten" drily.

### A YEAR WITHOUT AN ARMY

Costa Rica is doing fine

Dec. 1, 1948

President abolishes Army, declaring that "a peace-loving country has no need of one." Army HQ given to Ministry of Education for conversion into a museum.

#### Dec. 11, 1949

Dispute with Nicaragua over "invasion" of Costa Rica by "Communists" from the former country. Treaty of Rio de Janiero invoked and Commission of Freniew set and commission of Enquiry set up.

### Feb. 21, 1949

Costa Rica and Nicaragua sign pact of friendship after agreeing to peaceful settlement of their dispute.

### Jan. 23, 1950

The U.S. magazine Time publishes the following report on life in Costa

"In San José last week, Costa Ricans once again could boast that their country's schoolmasters outnumber their soldiers. This happy state of affairs had been accomplished by the simple method of abolishing the army.

"And why not? The revolution of 1948 was long past; the 18 months of junta bossed reconstruction were over. Under Otilio Ulate, who was installed last November in the presidency to which he was elected just before the 1948 uprising the little (pop. 813,000) Central American republic was fast winning back its old reputation for peace and progress.

"Ulate resumed the presidential custom of walking to the San José post office every day to get his mail. He also walked to work. Coming out of his two-story stucco house on the capital's north side one day last week, he struck out as usual past the corner grocery and crossed the Parque Morazan toward the palace. In the park, a fat waiter passed him. Buenos dias, Don Otillo, said the waiter. The president of Costa Rica tipped his hat.

"One evening, passing up a Club Unión reception, the President took in the dancing in the Parque Central. As he sat on a park bench watching the capital's famously handsome señoritas walk by arm in arm, some drunks raised a cheer for the government's bitterest enemy, exiled ex-President Rafael Calderón Guardia. Ulate forbade their arrest. 'Let them viva whom they wish,' he said."

### THE GHENT CONFERENCE

### Another step towards World Government

From HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

PEPRESENTATIVES from Australia, Austria, Argentine, Belgium, Britain, Ceylon, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Iceland, Italy, Israel, Luxembourg, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, USA and India recently met in Ghent, Belgium, to plan the Peoples' World Constituent government.

In the minds of many of them the venue is already fixed-Geneva the date, December 30, 1950.

Others consider that "Geneva" may mislead the public into imagining that an international federation would be another league; they insist on the vital distinction between a debating society, like the United Nations, and a government.

A tiny few are suggesting postponing the Constituent Assembly, not because the time is not ripe, but to let the world catch up with events. But most are aware of the danger that if mankind does not soon abolish war, war will abolish mankind.

In Stockholm last summer the World Movement for World Federal Government appointed a Steering Committee to pre-pare for the World Constituent Assembly. The Ghent conference was a symptom of rank and file impatience at official delays. However, the blessing of the Chairman of the Steering Committee, Mr. Henry Usborne, MP, was read in plenary session.

Fyke Farmer, initiator of a Tennessee law authorising elections of delegates to the World Constituent Assembly, announced the introduction of a similar bill in Kentucky. Mr. Diedisheim (France) reported on a similar draft bill in France; Mr. Dreze, Belgian MP, on the one in Belgium, mentioning the pilot elections at Nivelles (71 per cent. voted, 96 per cent. in favour).

Comparing federalism to aviation, Elizabeth Mann Borgese said that the Ghent conference meant that world government was at last "airborne." Another delegate thought it would start a chain reaction of peace which in the next few months would grather sufficient power to everying would gather sufficient power to exorcise war.

# review page

# IS PEACE A **MYTH TOO?**

Myths of War, by Marie Bonaparte. Imago Publishing Co., 10s. 6d.

THIS is a necessary book. It is time that we became better acquainted with the origins, in the human mind, of such beliefs liminary clearing of the ground. as that of the Devil-Jew.

The chapter which bears this title, "The Devil Jew," is the most valuable chapter in the book. It describes Hitler's own con-version to anti-Semitism, and the part which hatred of the Jews played in building up the modern Fascist state.

Earlier chapters purport to reveal the psychological explanation of certain stories and anecdotes which were current during the recent war. For example:

A man has a breakdown on the Paris-Soissons road. While tinkering with his engine, another car stops, and one of the occupants gets out, and enquires if he can help. Thinking he can manage alone, the man thanks him and refuses, but noticing that the other speaks with an accent, asks his nationality.

"I'm a German."

"How will it turn out?" asks the

"Oh, it won't last much longer" replies the other.

"Really-and Hitler?"

"Hitler will be dead very soon now, and that's as true as that you'll be starting up in a minute, that you'll be stopped at a level crossing to take an injured woman to the nearest hospital and that she'll die on the way.'

The prediction was fulfilled in every

Marie Bonaparte maintains that this story and variations of this and other stories with a predictive element were current in all the belligerent countries, although I personally cannot recall having heard any of the stories which are quoted, Marie Bonaparte gives a very detailed explanation of this, and other myths, an explanation which, although quite coherent for the layman, will perhaps best be appre-ciated by those with some knowledge of psycho-analysis.

The psychological origins of wars have not been written about very authoritatively, and therfore this book will be welcomed by pacifists, and others. However, one reaches the closing sentence with a very great shock:

Thus, this second League of Nations, should it be raised, is doubtless once more doomed to illustrate how mythical is that great mirage of which humanity, despite its ineradicable instincts of aggression and conquest, still dreams at weary moments: the supreme myth of peace, universal, everlasting.

In other words, the myth of peace can be explained as one of the many myths of war, and presumably cured in the consulting room of the psychiatrist. It is perhaps understandable that those who make a study of the deep and, as yet, almost uncharted waters of the human mind should become to a certain extent cynical,

However, if peace too, is a myth, existing only in the presumably warped minds of hose who watch and hope for it, there is little point in trying to explain the myths

JOHN VINCENT

# A recent pamphlet

The Federation of the World, by Harold S. Bidmead. C8vo. 8pp. (Author, 33, Chesham Avenue, Bromley, Kent. 3d.)
WHEN I was at School our drawingmaster would set us working and then come round to criticise each effort. Sometimes he would advise alterations, sometimes make them himself, and sometimes, in hopeless cases, growl, "Rub it all out and start again.

That, briefly, is Mr. Bidmead's advice to those who are trying to make the United Nations look like the Parliament of Man.

With wit and humour, sarcasm, analogy and a little logic his pamphlet launches a vigorous attack on the present constitution of UN. It is, he declares, nonsense to say that UNO is a step in the right direction. There is such a thing as trying to leap an abyss in two leaps, and even a step in the right direction is futile if progress is obviously so slow that one cannot possibly arrive in time. The setting up of a league is, however, a step in the wrong direction, step from world anarchy to legalised world anarchy.

The only hope, for which there is still time, is to consign to the limbo where it belongs the perverted principle of "a league of soverign governments" and to begin to world-wide international government.

T.R.D.

#### WINSTON CHURCHILL, IN WAR AND PEACE A new critical biography by EMRYS HUGHES M.P. 250 Pages Illustrated. Price 2s. 6d.

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., LTD.

# A TEXT BOOK FOR We thought the WLG PEACE MAKERS

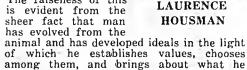
Dr. A. K. JAMESON reviews another "pacifist classic" for readers under twenty years of age. "The Preparation of Peace" is out of print but available at Dick Sheppard House Library, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, and most large public libraries

The Preparation of Peace, by Laurence Housman. Cape, 1941 (out of print).

This collection of a dozen or so essays contributes to the clearance by examining a number of the obstacles to peace which exist in the human mind: mistaken beliefs,

wrong attitudes, old prejudices, which must be got rid of before the building of peace can be

So long as men go on crying that human nature never changes there can be no hope of progress. That cry in effect a denial of the doctrine of free will, an assertion that man's will is thwarted human nature which never changes. The falseness of this is evident from the sheer fact that man has evolved from the



The word "extremists" has come to be applied solely to those who advocate extreme methods of change. Yet those who resist all change are just as extreme in the opposite direction and they go in the face of the primary law of life: what is unable to change in response to changing environment, whether physical or moral, is doomed, like those vast primeval monsters who became extinct because they could not adapt themselves to a world in which their particular form of food became less abundant. But practices which cannot be justified at the bar of the intellect or of conscience are

tolerated from habit and average minds

protest more against new theory than old

practice.

Christianity has suffered great detriment because the authorities of the church have insisted on regarding the narrow-minded, vindictive, tribal god of the Old Testament as identical with the New Testament God of justice and mercy, the loving Father of all mankind. For when Christianity was adopted as the state religion it was by appeal to the former conception of God that all the horrors of religious intolerance and persecution were let loose on the world and war was justified. When an Archbishop of Canterbury could pronounce that "The sword is the ministry of God for the pro-tection of the people" it is obvious that he was not thinking in terms of the God known

Indeed, all our thinking on the subject

# len Years Ago

From Peace News, March 22, 1940

For having copies of a pamphlet, in which he had declared that "in our barracks boys of 18 and 19 years are systematically trained for the vilest methods of murder." a Dutch anti-militarist was a Dutch anti-militarist was charged with deliberately insulting public authority and fined 40 florins with the option of 20 days' imprisonment. He is Dr. Hugenholtz, Secretary of the Church and Peace Society of Christian Anti-Militarists.

A "Peace Scare" seized the New York Stock Exchange last night, causing considerable selling.

Prices declined one to two points, especially in steel securities and the so-called war securities.'

The movement was based on rumowrs spreading from Europe, none of which could be confirmed.

-Daily Herald, March 16, 1940

#### BRINGING WHAT THINGS HOME TO THEM

Warren Fisher, North-Western Regional Commissioner, speaking at a lun-cheon last Friday, urged that "this was a war of religion and unless we were as convinced of the truth of the principles un-derlying the Sermon on the Mount as were the Prussians about their own hellish doctrine of brutality, bestiality, bullying, fraud, trine of fractive, vestiaity, outlying, fraud, cunning, and plunder we doomed ourselves to failure. We must, if we were to deal with them, temporarily put aside our traditional methods and give them hell in every sort of way best calculated to bring things home to them. Large and frequent doses of their own medicine were essential if we were to make any impression on them.

F the temple of peace is to be of justice to individuals or to nations has erected, there must be much prebeen distorted by the false notion—based again on the Old Testament—that justice must be stern, which in practice means vindictive, biassed and unjust.

What justice was there in the continuance of the blockade against Germany after the end of the fighting in the 1914-18 war, or in the bombing of defenceless villages on the North-West frontier of India?

Justice untempered by mercy produces the opposite effect to that aimed at; it merely hardens the criminal and prevents his rehabilitation as a useful member of society; it is merely panic self-protection.

Many actions not coming under the law are far worse than those for which men are sent to prison. Society will never be re-formed nor will peace come until every individual realises his moral—apart from his legal—responsibility for the consequences of his actions. The present economic system makes it easy for individuals to forget this. "If Christianity is ever to come true, there must be in its social system no separation of interests: the well-being of each one must be indivisible from the well-being of all."



Prayer has always been a fundamental impulse of the human heart and it has great power over the mind, not as evoking intervention by some supernatural being, but as releasing vital energy in the individual. "Will-power expressed through prayer is no security that a man will do right: it is only a security that he will do hat he means to do with more deter nina tion and courage and conviction." Man is the arbiter of his destiny and if he desires peace with sufficient intensity he will get

When men think clearly on these and other similar matters which are treated of in thes essays, it will be possible to make some progress in attaining peace, but not

Spring was ours birt

For Your To-morrow, An Anthology of Poetry written by young men from English Public Schools who fell in the World War, 1939-1945. Geoffrey Cumberlege and Oxford University Press, 75, 60 7s. 6d.

THIS is a remarkable volume of fine achievement and yet finer promise. That promise will never be fulfilled; the authors, all in their twenties, are dead.

A sense of fatality hangs over so many of these verses that we might take as a text for all, David Raikes' line "We thought the Spring was ours, but we were wrong.

Irresistible comparisons with the poets of an earlier war present themselves, and while Geraint Jones and others write in the Rupert Brooke tradition, there is more intensely personal subjectivity in these poems than in their forerunners.

Not all are war poems and many are fragmentary; evocative of peace and love, and the English countryside; several, notably Frank Thompson's, show a success fully adapted classical influence. His line, "They died in a war of other's making strikes at our hearts.

Sydney Keyes, whose work has already received public acclaim, has some lovely poems, "Remember Your Lovers" and the Daniel Sydney or the Party of th several in the Donne tradition among them, while Jonathon Wilson's "Farewell To A Friend" has a subtle and original rhytim varied and echoed in the other poems that represent him here, one of the most clear-cut being "My Soul, my Diamond of Self."

Several of the young poets, like Drummond Allison, show a teeming over of ideas maturity which corrects the over-hasty ear.
Graves, Bourne, Meikle and Joly all have something to contribute; I should like to comment on each one of the 23 if there were space to do them justice. clothed in fresh words, but lacking space to do them justice.

The volume is indeed worth buying and pondering. T. A. Mellon's lines enfold the deeply moving and tragic message of the

Twenty-one years, not disillusioned yet, Why should I fear to die?

Perhaps it is a companion thought to our disenchanted older poet, A. E. Housman when he wrote:--

Life to be sure is nothing much to lose, But young men think it is, and we were young.

PHYLLIS VALLANCE

#### A PACIFIST WALES HONOURS Samuel Roberts Llanbrynmair, by Glanmor **PIONEER**

Williams. In English and Welsh, University of Wales Press Board, 2s. 6d.

of Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire, is little known to pacifists outside Wales. Yet few have made a greater contribution to the cause of peace.

Born in 1800 (this book celebrates the 150th anniversary of his birth) he devoted the 85 years of his life to peace and social reform, "keeping the faith to the end through good times and evil."

In 1827 he became minister of his native Independent church at Llanbrynmair where he remained until 1857 when he emigrated to Tennessee to found a Welsh colony. Caught by the Civil War, he remained there for ten years, returning in 1867 to Wales for the rest of his life. He died in 1885.

In 1843 he founded Y Cronic, a three-halfpenny monthly magazine of which over a million copies were sold in twelve years. I commend it to all readers. a million copies were sold in twelve years.
In it and in other journals, and from many platforms, he advocated reforms in local and public government, agriculture, transport, the postal service—and above all the promotion of peace.

It is held that his advocacy of penny postage preceded that of Sir Rowland Hill. His schemes for subways in large cities, sewage disposal, the treatment of half castes, etc., were generations ahead of his time: indeed several of the reforms he advocated have yet to become law.

But his greatest contribution was in the cause of peace. "There never was a good war," he maintained, "nor a poor peace." As a friend of Henry Richard, Richard Cobden, Elihu Burritt and other well-known figures of the peace movement, we find figures of the peace movement, we find him in the 1850 Peace Conference at Frankfurt. His writings during the Crimean War brought pacifist principles consistently before the public, while he devoted his un rivalled talents to raise money for the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in

During his sojourn in the United States he was faced with a decision well-known to pacifists. As a lifelong advocate of the abolition of slavery, should he condone a war one of the purposes of which was to "free slaves"? His attitude can be summarised in his statement: "Slavery and war are twin devils: it is madness to em-ploy war to banish slavery." He advocated civilised and Christian means of settling all conflicts. In the heat of the Civil War, his ideas were misrepresented and he was denounced as a coward. Public opinion, however, is fickle and when he returned to Wales he was presented with a national testimonial of £1,245.

Samuel Roberts probably influenced public opinion in Wales more than any other Welshman of his century, preparing the

THE name of the Rev. Samuel Roberts ground for the later work of Thomas Rees, John Morgan Jones, George M. Ll. Davies and others. It is fitting that his story

-By Dr. Iorwerth C. Peate-

whose work as head of the Folk Department of the National Museum of Wales has made it known through-out the world. The out the world. The display rooms in the building of Cathays Park, Cardy have fascinated many thousands of visitors, and an elaborate permanent exhibition of distinctive Welsh architecture is were hard developed under tecture is now being developed under his direction in the grounds of St. Fagans Castle Fagans Castle.

### Toward Industrial Community

PRIVATE firm (that of Messrs A PRIVATE firm (that of Messrater Farmer and Sons Ltd.) on Christian grounds is endeavouring to transform business into a "Welfare Society" owned business into a "Welfare Society" owned by all its personnel as an industrial munity. "Christian Principles Industry" is the title of the shilling the let describing this sincere venture, from booklet being issued by the firm Edgware Road, W.2.

Now that the old challenge to private ownership has become dominant, it is cereated.

Now that the old challenge to private ownership has become dominant, it is certainly good that business men who believed in a sphere for free association strive to make ownership social. Seebohm Rowntree, however, in his word, claims for this experiment that it is unique in the history of industry.

strive to make ownership social for Seebohm Rowntree, however, in his that word, claims for this experiment word, claims for this experiment word, claims for this experiment is unique in the history of industry. Nearly two centuries of co-operative periment and achievement in this county periment and achievement in this county periment and achievement in this county detail, but even the failures contain in less detail, but even the failures contain in less detail, but even the failures contain in less detail, but even the failures contain less ons of which all new experimenters begin be aware. If the Edgware Road begin be aware. If the Edgware Road word the co-operative would be still more hopeful for its future. Would be still more hopeful for its future. Would be still more hopeful for its future is one feature of the Farmer scheme de union pressure, many co-operative socient compel their employees to be trade took members. When this change first more place, workers with conscientious objection were discharged. The Farmers to ment allows conscientious objection pleaded. If it is sustained the interest provident fund the equivalent of his true p

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WISH to bring to the notice of all freedom-lovers, humanitarians the draws himself up and faces his captors. "I refuse," he says quietly. "I and opponents of blood-sports the tase of the persecuted scientist.

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e dead.

ame across it the other day in the Sun-y Pictorial, which didn't seem to real-how serious it was. Here is the ragedy:

tofessor Harold Urey, Nobel Prize-inner, played an important part in the velopment of the atom bomb. Urey, sed 57, says he'd much rather be left one to collect sea-shells. They give a clue to the earth's climatic changes. is an unhappy comment on our civilisaon that men who prefer peaceful pur-lis must give their brains to the science of destruction."

Operative word is "must."

HAT, one may ask, is going on here? A reign of terror on the wrong side the Curtain? Let us reconstruct the ragedy from this bare report:

a simple scientist seeking sea-shells the shore—the very picture of happy nocence. Suddenly a harsh voice breaks appon his peaceful pursuit. "Hey! Urey atom-buster!" Startled, he looks up sees an armed guard headed by a rgeant holding a pair of handcuffs.

yes," he replies; "but . . ." "Right"

lays the sergeant. "Shall I put these on

la or are ya gonna come quiet?"

dered, the distinguished scientist drops bucket and spade and follows the bucket and span-ard. He is taken before a tribunar told that, in view of his reputation an atom-splitting ace, the State re-tures his services for making atom-

Professor is horrified. "Bombs!" he les. "But I couldn't. I prefer peaceful suits. I want to seek sea-shells on shearsh."

niensh!" says the President of the Tri-nal. "You aren't being asked what want to do. You're being told what to must do. There's a cold war on. Do tonsent, or must we use other am a she-sell searcher, not a shiv-I mean not a civilisation-smasher."

The President calls the guard. "Bung this guy in the cooler," he says. "He wants to think things over."

What went on behind the door of that shellseeker's cell we do not know. American ideas of justice are not the same as ours. There are ugly tales of third degree—and worse. All we know is that soon afterwards Prof Urey, 57, was quietly and unprotestingly working on atom bombs, and I am not in a position either to confirm or deny the rumour that his hair had gone white in the night.

THAT, in any case, is the story I prefer. Honesty compels me to admit, how-ever, that there is an alternative inter-pretation of the word "must."

It may be that in a free country there is no legal compulsion for scientists to give their brains to destruction. The question is-if a scientist wants to follow peaceful pursuits, who's stopping him?

It is a disturbing thought—but is it possible that there are scientists who have brains and nothing else?

Such creatures are zoologically possible, we know. Some of the higher apes, like Consul, the Almost Human, have achieved remarkable mental and manual proficiency without possessing the moral and critical faculty which enables them to judge the purpose and consequences of their clever

To such sub-human creatures, however in-telligent, the "must" or compulsion consists in the mere ability to do the trick in question. Having no moral judgment, it would feel that whatever it can do it must do, otherwise its simple mind would suffer a sense of frustration.

should not like to think, however, that any of our distinguished, democratic scientists were sub-human. So, lacking further evidence, I shall stick to the story that Nobel Prize-winners only consent to prepare the means to destroy civilisation under threat of torture.

Esperanto by your own fireside!

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# ITALIAN STUDENT RESISTS CALL-UP Court Martial retuse to hear defence witness

AFTER what has been described by an Italian newspaper as "a scandalous trial." Elevoine Santi, 26-year-old consc.entious objector, has been sentenced by a Naples Court Martial to one year's imprisonment for refusing military service.

Italy does not recognise conscientious Santi may write only two letters monthly objection to military service.

called by Dr. Bruno Segre were not heard.

The President of the court practically prevented Elevoine Santi himself from speaking to such an extent that even the Prosecutor himself had to intervene and to beg for the accused's rights to be respected.

#### Not a crime

Dr. Segre himself pleaded for Santi's acquittal on the basis that he considered conscientious objection did not constitute a crime in the legal code of Italy. Also assisting at the trial was advocate Italo De Berardinis del Foro of Naples who in view of the fact that acquittal was not likely to be granted, pleaded for the minimum penalty, with the benefit of all possible remissions and reductions allowed by law under extenuating circumstances.

The court was only about ten minutes in retirement considering its verdict. Following the trial Dr. Segre went to the prison but was not allowed to see his client.

#### Appeal to Italian President

In a declaration to the Italian President and the Defence Minister, explaining the reasons for his conscientious objection, Elevoine Santi said:

" I mourn the death of every individual, because lone of my family has disappeared. If men at certain moments turn wolves, this is no reason why I should turn one; why should I not love my fellow-man while other men murder one another?

"War destroys Human Kind; and armies, even in peace-time, prepare that destruction. That is why I refuse to serve in the army as long as it is an in-strument of war. It is not out of cowardice that I take this step; nay I beg for a harder service, even more dangerous and longer than military service, provided my work is helpful to a portion of humanity without offending the rest.

"I am a conscientious objector, I refuse to wage war and to help in any way those who wage it. For this reason, though I answer the will of the Nation, thereby showing that I am ready to serve it, I am determined to disobey any order given in contrast with my conscience. As long as no law exists protecting my right not to kill, I am bound to disobey every order of military authorities."

Elevoine Santi has appealed against the

Short messages of greeting and solidarity can be sent to him, preferably on an open post-card, addressed as follows: Carcere Militare, Gaeta (Littoria), Italy. Replies should not be expected since

Santi was a student of architecture at At the Court Martial defence witnesses Bologna University. After serving in alled by Dr. Bruno Segre were not heard. various "pick-and-shovel-peacemaking" projects with the Italian section of Inter-national Voluntary Service for Peace he decided to render himself liable for call-up by ceasing his studies.

### "A pick-and-shovel peacemaker"

He informed the War Ministry of his intentions and offered to work in an institution for boys at Modena.

In last year's trial of Pietro Pinna, another Italian CO, laws governing offences committed "for reasons of moral and social value" were invoked and Pinna was given a suspended sentence. This former trial took place in the same Court which later refused to grant these benefits to Elevoine Santi.

"The position of our friends in Italy is becoming more difficult," writes Grace Beaton of WRI Headquarters. "They feel that this severe penalty imposed on Santi and the fact that support for the proposed Bill recognising conscientious objection may not be approved by Parliament, is due to fear of Communism.

"It is the same prejudice which has been met by our people in so many countries, namely, that those refusing to undertake military duties are thought to be support-

Gaol and fine for two British peace workers .- page one.

-WRI News Service and L'Incontro

SWEDEN: The Swedish World Peace Mission has arranged to hold its annual conference at Södertalje, just south of Stockholm, on July 15 and 16 this year. Having felt a call to devote all his energies to the promotion of peace Pastor John Berg has given up a prosperous living to become Travelling Representative of the Peace Mission.

### A Special Display

of books and pamphlets and leaflets on pacifism, and kindred topics will be on sale at the

PPU Central Hall Meeting from 6.30 p.m. onwards on

Monday, 27th March

We shall look forward to seeing you there HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP (the Pacifist Booksellers)

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

# Notes for your Diary

the is a free service, we reserve the select for publication notices sent nevertheless desire to make it as a service as we reasonably can, tore urge organizers of events to:

Send notices to arrive not

Friday, March 24

Moon W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 EndsGroup Policy Meeting:
Ph. London PPU.
SAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. CongregaLondon Proom: Minnie Pallister on
What Price? ": PPU.
Congregational
London Policy What Price? ": PPU.
London Policy A. D. Belden: Public

Saturday, March 25

Naturday, March 25

Nouth: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting
Swatthmore, Mutley Plain; Devon
Mulley Plain; Devon
Mulley Plain;
MeetSwatthmore, Mutley Plain;
Swatthmore, Mutley Plain;
P. A. D. Belden and Minnie
Meeting; PPU.

Sunday, March 26 Ounday, March 20
RINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Meetestion "Conference: "The Path of
Society of Friends."

h ly Monday, March 27

Ly Bill 7.30 p.m. Palais de Danse.

Rill 8 PPU PPU Open-air meetAnderson and Bryan

Thursday, March 30
Piolon, W.C.2: 12,30 p.m. Lincoln's
Pit Open-air Meeting; Sybil Mor-

ARROUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER OR SANCTION ANOTHER A SANCTION And SANCTION And Sans of sanction by each member, agency of the Peace Pledge Union. HEADQUARTERS Shappard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Friday, March 31 LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens: Bernard Withers on "Law and Society"; Central London PPU.

Saturday, April 1

Saturday, April 1

SOUTHAMPTON: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Dr. A. D. Belden on "The Church can stop Atomic War—a New Plan": Public Meeting.

SAFFRON WALDEN: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, High St.; Speaker: Rev. Clifford H. Macquire; Far.

TAUNTON: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, High St.; Speaker: Rev. Clifford H. Macquire; Far.

TAUNTON: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bath Place; Speaker: Hugh Faulk-ner; Area Conference For.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street; Meeting of Non-Violence Group; Speaker: Roy Walker; PPU members welcome.

Saturday and Sunday, April 1-2 BURLEY IN WHARFSHIRE: Weekend School at The Adult School Guest House, Hag Farm Lane; Saturday, 3.30 p.m. to Sunday, 8 p.m. Inclusive Charge 16s., with a reduction for children; Applications, with 5s. deposit, to Kenneth Chadwick, 32 Spencer Place, Leeds 7; PPU.

Sunday, April 2

WELWYN GARDEN CITY: 6.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Eric S. Tucker on "Christian Pacifism in World Affairs"; Society of Friends.

Monday, April 3

HOLLOWAY: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 404 Camden Road, Holloway: Racial Discrimination; Native speakers from South Africa, West Africa, West Indies: Islington Peace Group (PPU). ROMFORD: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting

House; FoR.
TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Open-air meeting; Gwyneth Anderson and Bryan Anstey: PPU.

Wednesday, April 5 DULWICH: 8 p.m. Dulwich Grove Congregational Church; "Peace through Education"; PPU.

Thurs., April 6-Tues., April 11 BUXTON: Youth Holiday Conference; Subject: "Peoples and Nations"; FoR.

Saturday and Sunday, May 6-7 CRICH. Nr. MATLOCK: Commencing 5 p.m.; weekend school; Spraker: Minnie Pallister on "World Problems"; Cost; adults 17s. 6d.. children under 10, 8s. 6d. Special bus from Sheffield 9s. return; Names with 5-s. deposit should be sent by March 18 to Eleanor Pease, 28 East Bank Place, Sheffield 2; PPU.

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

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### **MEETINGS**

WEIGH HOUSE Church. Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour

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### LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM Information and Litera-iure respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Frienda, free on application to the Frienda' Home Service Committee, Frienda' House, Euston Rd. London.

THE LATEST books, pamphlets and periodicals (whether or not reviewed in Peace News) are always available from your own Booksellers, Housman Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Send s.a.e. for latest list

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### Crusade for World Gov't elects new Council

The following Crusade for World Government supporters will comprise the 1950 National Executive Committee:

ARMSTRONG, Patrick N., B.A., Worked for UNNRA in Italy and in the Middle East.

BELDEN, Dr. A. D., B.D., D.D. General Director of Pax Christi League, Congregational Minister. Member of the Peace Pledge Union.

COHEN, L. J., M.A., assistant in Department of Philosophy at Edinburgh University. Served in Foreign Office during

FITZGERALD Alderman John. County Councillor. Secretary of Proportional Representation Society.

HOGBEN. Professor Lancelot. D.S.C., F.R.S. Professor of Medical Statistics at Birmingham University.

HOWARD, Michael, Publisher's representative. Actively interested in federation since 1939. National Organising Secretary of Crusade, October 1948 to October

HOYLAND, John, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. Tutor and lecturer, Woodbrook College, Bir-mingham. Relief and educational worker in England, Spain, Finland, etc.

KRAUS, Gerry. Secretary of old National Executive Committee. Member of the London Executive Committee. Editor of "Across Frontiers."

MILLINGTON, Ernest R., D.F.C., M.P. for Chelmsford in last House. National Vice-President of Federal Union and National Peace Council.

MORRIS, Stuart, M.A. National Secretary Secretary of of Peace Pledge Union. Crusade Candidates' Association. Director of Peace News, Ltd.

NUTLEY, Jack K., Executive of South Eastern Council of N.U.R. Executive, West Kent F.O.R. Peace Pledge Union member.

RANKIN, John. M.P.

SHARMAN, Mrs. E. K. Secretary of Birmingham Women's Crusade Council.

SMITH, Len. Member of I.L.P.

THOMAS, George, M.P. Executive member of N.U.T., 1941-45.

On Instructions from the National Council of the Peac: Pledge Union, the Directors of Shropard Press Limited have disposed of the business. The new Proprietors

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### Up and doing!

# CAN WE DO IT AGAIN!

IT is nearly ten years since the willesale newsagents imposed their war-time ban on Peace News. What energy and enterprise the pacifist movement put into shaping its own distributing organisation!—an organisation that played a vital part in sustaining pacifists in those difficult years. After a catastrophic drop from 30,000 to under 10,000, sales were speedily built up to nearly 20,000 each week throughout the war years.

Now a less dramatic but more urgent challenge faces the 10,000 remaining Peace News readers. Can we, whilst there is yet peace, help steer the world away from further war? Can we, without the stimulus of a battling world, build up a new and effective peace propaganda organisation? If every reader took 12 copies to sell to others, 120,000 every week, what an impact we could make!

Since 1945 we have tended to leave the sale of Peace News to the labour saving device of trade distribution. But it won't work—50 per cent. of our readers have been lost in five years. Of course we must encourage shops to sell the paper, and display it too, but winning new supporters to our point of view, bringing all peace lovers into the Peace News fold, will only be done by pacifists, by you and me.

The new eight page Peace News, commencing on April 28 provides the occasion for a great new circulation effort. We must gain 2,500 new readers to cover the extra cost, then 5,000 in all to operate the paper without loss. Watch out for the dates of our special Peace News meetings, meantime start now to find more PN readers every week. May we depend on you to sell 12 each week from April 28?

Circulation last week 9,300 copies.

# H-Bomb: 7-day fasts

A REPORT on the public meeting called by Rev. S. S. Waterson, the Bexhill vicar who has secured nation-wide support for his H-bomb fast plan announced in last week's Peace News, will appear next week.

The "Call to a Seven-Day Fast for Peace" by American pacifists to be held in Washington, DC, beginning at midnight April 1 and ending on Easter morning de-clares that the "decision of the United States government to proceed with the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb precipitates a deep and terrible crisis." The signers state that "we cannot simply go on in our accustomed ways, or be satisfied with merely continuing the things we have

It is hoped that about 50 persons will engage in the U.S. fast. They will live together for the week at 1867 Kalorama Road,

# Seretse affair

### 'HAS DESTROYED CONFIDENCE OF MILLIONS'-R. W. Sorensen, MP

THE British Government's action in the overnight and temporarily at least," destroyed the growing confidence of millions of black and coloured people in the in tentions of Britain, declared the Rev. R. Sorensen, MP, speaking last Saturday at a conference organised by the South Notts Area of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"It is a great tragedy, and I hope that the unfortunate position will be modified in the course of time and that we shall be able to bring back into friendship those who are drawn into hostility, but certainly to all of us who have been trying for years to establish this creative peace with our coloured brethren it has been a very heavy blow indeed," added Mr. Sorensen.

Replying later to a question on the same subject, the speaker said there were two sides to the question, and he went on to say that the motives of the British Government in taking the action it did were good, although he believed its conclusions were

#### Attempts at solving problem

Mr. Sorensen said he had himself made certain suggestions for solving the prob-lem after interviews with Mr. Gordon-Walker, Minister for Commonwealth Relations, and Seretse Khama, and he believed that Seretse would be prepared to accept

In her attitude to the 60 million people living in the Colonial Empire, Britain he said, prove still further, as she had done in India, that she was making peace on the basis of justice and fraternity. "Y to make a new 'Pax Britannica basis of mutual respect, goodwill and fraternity."

Britain's Colonial subjects must be given not only the means of governing themselves, but the means of living as we did. There were at present many people who were pre-pared to extend the franchise to the natives of Nigeria, for instance, but not willing to nay more for cocoa and other products from that area so that schools and hospitals

might be built out there.
(Reports of Friends Peace Committee's Nottingham meeting and FOR's Merseyside meeting will appear next week).

### COMMUNISTS TO CALL A SECOND PEACE CONGRESS

THE Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress are to hold a second Congress during the last quarter of 1950.

The Communist sponsored committee appeal to "all social and religious groups, to all workers in culture, and to all honest people who, regardless of their opinions as to the reasons for the present tense inter-national situation, are alarmed about it and seriously wish to re-establish peaceful re-

lations among nations."
As a basis for agreement they propose the prohibition of atomic weapons and con-demnation of the first government to use

#### WOOLWICH POSTSCRIPT

By FRANK HANCOCK

"No-More-War" Socialist candidate for East Woolwich at the General Election

complete fiasco that it must seem to have been to those who took no part in it. Those who were in it know the immense amount of work put in-and good work, too, good propaganda.

election address sent to 53,000 people was, industrial area.

Thousands of leaflets went out in the early days of the contest, before they were regarded as waste paper.
For eight weeks we carried on a poster

campaign; 150 new bills with arresting slogans every week.

From one small committee-room (against Labour's 16), we coped with the prodigious task of addressing 35,000 envelopes, and planning and carrying out a very intensive campaign. PPU'ers came along in good numbers, and worked and worked and worked. We were amazed at the quiet efficient service they gave, night after Our poorly attended meetings warned us a fortnight before of the coming defeat.

Booklet published by The Pictorial Charts Unit.

FROM ANY W. H. SMITH'S BOOKSHOP

LET THE FIGURES

SPEAK

TO BRITAIN

WHAT PEACE MEANS

FAST WOOLWICH contest was not the We did everything possible to avert it. The nation-wide conviction that the result would be close drove the voters to vote either Labour or Tory. No one outside these parties stood a chance. Fighting the Foreign Secretary in a munitions consti-Our clear and uncompromising anti-war tuency was no harder than in any other

admittedly, the best one sent out.

This was followed by 10,000 copies of an Election Broadsheet with excellent matter in it.

We had to try out pacifism at the political level. Just that sort of political action is probably out of the question for down and get walked over? some time to come. We must find new ways to the same end.

Besides the wonderful help given by workers who came into the constituency, a small number of PPU'ers, Friends, and Pacifist Church members very generously sent £118 to the Election Fund. It cost £190—almost a record low figure. The deposit of £150 I promised would be lost by myself only.

I feel inclined to "reply" to Ron Huzzard's article in PN (March 10). But the world situation is too ugly for pacifists to start a vendetta between themselves.

Will the several-years-old Labour Pacifist Fellowship, and the few-weeks-old Paci-fist candidature agree that we have both been disappointed, and there is no chance of success for either line of action in the time at our disposal?

Let us humbly get together to find a new way, that will promise success, quickly.

### WORLD FORUM OF YOUTH

THE first of a number of conferences organised by the Daily Mail and The Council for Education in World Citizenship (UNA) on the theme "My Country and World Peace" was due to take place in Friends Meeting House, Birmingham, last

Others will be held in Manchester (March 27), Sheffield (March 28), Liverpool (March 30), Leeds (April 1), Dundee (April 28), Glasgow (May 1), Newcastle (May 2), Bristol (May 4), Cardiff (May 8) and Cambridge (May 10), for schools in these areas.

A large World Forum will be held at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on May 15.

Sybil Morrison's

# CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"Oh, wad some pow'r the giftie gie "
To see ourselves as others see us! It wad frae mony a blunder free was And foolish notion."

-Robert Burns

SCENE: The steps of St. Martin-in-the-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London. CHARACTERS: Peace Pledge Union Leastet Distributor; Passer-by. P-B. (taking leaflet): It isn't any use

ing a peace pledge until every nati takes a pledge not to go to war. LD: Would you teach your children that is no use being honest until everyone

P-B: No, but that's different. LD: Pacifists don't think so. Why do ye think it is different?

P-B: Because we must protect ourselve. We must fight the Russians— they down want peace—why, they won't agree even an international control and inspection.

of atomic armaments. LD: But the USA won't agree either; the refused to destroy their stockpile atom bombs when Russia hadn't

P-B: But it wouldn't be safe to do the while Russia is threatening to dominate the model of the safe to dominate the model of the safe to dominate the model of the safe to do the safe to the world.

the world.

LD: Don't you think it may seem to be Russians that a great stock of booms the secret of which had not been reveal even when they were our allies, is threat to them?

P-B: Well, if you put it like that. (second thoughts) I suppose you are communist?

Communist?

LD: No I'm a pacifist and I believe the survival of the human race may depend upon trying to see ourselves as other see. P-B: I wish it were as simple as that.

LD: Well, come to the Central Hall on the 27th and hear the pacifist case. P-B: I think I will. SCENE: Holborn Underground Station

CHARACTERS: As before. P-B: Vera Brittain? I didn't know she Communist!

LD: She isn't. What makes you think so P-B: Well! A peace meeting. LD: Do you think only Communists

interested in peace? P-B: No, I wouldn't say that, but the don't want a war with Russia. LD: Do you want a war with Russia?

P-B: No, of course not. LD: Well, what's wrong then, with wanting a war with Russia?

P-B: It isn't a question of wanting it man be forced on us and we must protect our

LD: The atom and hydrogen bombs won protect us—there is no defence against them. We must try some other why not come and the some other tor and the some other tors. Why not come and hear the case for an other way at the Central Hall. P-B: Perhaps I will.

SCENE: Victoria Station. CHARACTERS: As before.

P-B: Peace! Let me tell you, Madan, to only way to get peace is to be prepared for way LD: Well, we have tried that way several

P.B: That's the fault of you pacifists with your "appeasement" and nonsense. LD: Pacifists did not advocate "appease ment"; they advocated non-violent

ment"; they advocated resistance to tyranny. LD: No, it doesn't mean that at all, but would take about half at all, me

would take about half-an-hour for me explain it to explain it to you, and I want to get the leaflets into the hands of as many people as possible. Why don't you come along and hear the case?

B: Well, if your P-B: Well, if you were going to speak

might. LD: I am-don't miss it !

These recorded conversations are only few out of hundreds. The Central Hall holds thousands! It is for pacifists to see to it that the thousands are there.

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